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## CERTAIN PRE-COLUMBIAN NOTICES OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS

By W. H. BABCOCK

**T**HIS paper does not pretend to be exhaustive. Territorially it is confined to the eastern oceanic islands, from Iceland to the Canaries.

Of the first we have exceptionally ample information as to the settlement by the Norsemen about the opening of the tenth century and the subsequent fortunes of that turbulent but brave and intellectual northern republic. We know also that a few Irish monks had preceded them along the coast. Nansen holds that there may have been an inland Celtic colonization as well; but the local names on which he relies may be accounted for better by the presence among the Norsemen of many Irishmen and Hebrideans, both captives and free immigrants, such as arrived in the train of Queen Aud the Deep Minded of Dublin.

There are some suggestions, however, in the thirteenth century sagas which may be treated either as the offspring of fancy or as the records of last remnants of aborigines, taking refuge in the interior fastnesses of the land. Thus the well-known saga of Grettir tells how that formidable outlaw in one crisis of his fortune dwelt for a season with a family of trolls in a hidden valley of a difficult and secluded mountain. The word troll was certainly used, before and after this time, in some instances to designate the Eskimo of Greenland. It thus occurs in the Floamanna saga and other writings. This raises the possibility that there were once Eskimo in Iceland. But there is no corroborative evidence, and the passages in question are (more likely) borrowings from Norwegian tradition or fancy flights of the romancer.

The Azores seem to have been occasionally visited very early indeed; even a hoard of Carthaginian and other northern African Phoenician coins having been found on the coast of Corvo, the

nearest island to America. There are various passages in old writers of various periods, as will be seen, which may indicate later visits, also the discovery of inhabitants, but these points remain very uncertain. Nowhere is archaeologic and anthropologic research more needed, especially in the two outlying members of the archipelago.

Perhaps the most widely discussed account of an Atlantic island is what Plato declared concerning Atlantis in the fifth century before Christ, on the faith of a much earlier poem and narrative by his ancestor Solon, who in turn derived his information, as alleged, from the priests of Sais in Egypt, who were the repositories of very ancient traditions. Judging by climate and the statement of location, Madeira or some land not very far removed might be meant, though certainly conceived of as on a much larger scale than anything now existing there. Many different explanations of the legend have been proposed. About the most recent of them finds in it a distorted, exaggerated, and transplanted history of the domination and downfall of the Minoan Sea Kings of Crete. Others have assumed it to be a mere creation of the romantic fancy of Plato himself. But this seems untenable; and the general drift of opinion is toward viewing the tale as a tradition repeated in good faith and located from the beginning in the Atlantic Ocean, whatever its foundation in fact.

The tale runs as follows, using a popular English translation with some elimination and condensation:

These histories tell of a mighty power which was aggressing wantonly against the whole of Europe and Asia and to which your city put an end. This power came forth out of the Atlantic Ocean, for in those days the Atlantic was navigable, and there was an island situated in front of the straits which you call the Columns of Hercules; the island was larger than Libya and Asia put together and was the way to other islands, and from the island you might pass through the whole of the opposite continent which surrounded the true ocean. . . . Now in the island of Atlantis there was a great and wonderful empire, which had rule over the whole island and several others, as well as parts of the continent. . . . But afterward there occurred violent earthquakes and floods and in a single day and night of rain the island of Atlantis disappeared and was sunk beneath the sea. And that is the reason why the sea in those parts is impassable and impenetrable, because there is such a quantity of shallow mud in the way; and this was caused

by the subsidence of the island. . . . Because of the greatness of the empire many things were brought to them from foreign countries. There were a great number of elephants in the islands.

Numerous kinds of fruits, flowers, legumes and other vegetable productions are described as

brought forth fair and wondrous in infinite abundance. . . . They employed themselves in constructing their temples and palaces, harbors and docks, a great palace which they continued to ornament during many generations, canals and bridges, walls and towns, numerous statues of gold, fountains both cold and hot, baths and a great multitude of houses. In the mountains were many wealthy inhabited villages. The plain was rectangular and for the most part straight and oblong.

The inhabitants are represented as worshipping Poseidon, their first founder, and being ruled by his laws which were inscribed on a column erected in the center of the island.

The reference to difficulties of navigation may indicate acquaintance with the Sargasso sea of weeds beyond the Azores; but the distinctively human data belong rather to the most advanced regions of the eastern Mediterranean in Plato's time, and the elephants of Atlantis are certainly oriental, not Atlantic. On the whole we do not get the impression that Plato or Zeno or the Egyptian priests had any real information about the inhabitants of Atlantic islands.

In the first century before Christ Diodorus Siculus wrote in his Library what Brown's translation (in the headline of Chapter 2, Book 5) identifies as an account of "Madeira."

Over against Africa lies a very great island in the vast ocean, of many days sail from Lybia westward. The soil here is very fruitful, a great part whereof is mountainous but much likewise champaign, which is the most sweet and pleasant part of all the rest, for it is watered with several navigable rivers, beautified with many gardens of pleasure, planted with divers sorts of trees and abundance of orchards interlaced with currents of sweet water. The towns are adorned with stately buildings and banqueting houses up and down, pleasantly situated in their gardens and orchards. And here they recreate themselves in summer time as in places accommodated for pleasure and delight. . . .

The mountainous part of the country is dotted with many large woods and all manner of fruit trees. . . . There you may have game enough in hunting all sorts of wild beasts. The air and climate of the island is very healthful and

mild, so that the trees and fruit and other things that are produced there are fresh and beautiful most part of the year.

The Phœnicians . . . passed at length beyond the pillars of Hercules into the sea called the ocean and first they built a city called Gades near to Hercules' pillars and at the sea side of an isthmus of Europe. . . . The Phœnicians having found out the coasts beyond the pillars and sailed along the shores of Africa were on a sudden driven by a furious storm far off into the main ocean and after they had been under a violent tempest for many days they at length arrived at this island and thus coming to the knowledge of the nature and pleasantness of this isle they were the first that discovered it to others. . . . The Etrurians when they were masters of the sea designed to send a colony thither; but the Carthaginians opposed them, fearing that most of their own citizens should be allured by the goodness of the land to settle there and likewise intending to keep it as a place of refuge for themselves.

The climate, physical characteristics and geographical situation all seem to point to Madeira; but the human life reported has no note of authenticity. It seems to echo observations along the Mediterranean coasts of Europe.

The elder Pliny narrated not much later a Mauritanian naval expedition to the Fortunate Islands or Canaries, which met with no inhabitants, though they found a temple on an island which they called Junonia, perhaps the modern Gomera, with other necessary indications of human occupancy.

Plutarch describes an island, Ogygia, five days' sail from England and mentions a continent beyond; which statement may be reminiscent of America. But there is no certainty, and he seems to regard the inhabitants as transplanted Greeks, except the God Saturn, who lay asleep in one of the islands.

There are various other references to western lands in ancient authors and those of the dark ages and early middle ages, but these have little or no anthropologic value until we come to Edrisi.

This great Arabian geographer prepared from the reports of many investigators and from many books a world map in silver for King Robert of Sicily about 1155. He also wrote a full geographical account of the known world, illustrated by a world map, probably copied from the silver original and by many detail maps of zones called climates and divided by latitudes. Of this important work four manuscript copies are still extant, two of them being in

Paris and two in the Bodleian library in Oxford. I have obtained good rotograph copies of all the parts of maps illustrating Atlantic islands and belonging to these two Bodleian manuscripts. The divergency is great, and probably greater still from the Paris copies, to judge by the published restorations which have been attempted from time to time. Clearly no one is in a position to restore exactly what Edrisi originally showed.

There is a full but rather old translation into French by Jaubert from the two Paris manuscripts and another of 1866 by Dozy and Goeg'e of the part concerning Africa, Spain and the Atlantic islands from all four manuscripts. The latter has been usually followed by me in the quotations given below—with some slight condensation.

Edrisi tells us at the beginning of his account of the First Climate of two islands called the Fortunate Isles or El Khalidat; giving no human particulars excepting that a stone column had been found on each of them supporting a copper statue pointing to regions beyond. He reports that there was said to be six of these pedestals and statues, the first being at Cadiz. There was not known to be any inhabited land beyond. He adds that Ptolemy reckoned longitude and latitude from these islands. It may be that he had chiefly in mind Lanzarota and Fuerteventura, the two most easily accessible members of the Canary group, confusing them a little with Ferro, another island of the same archipelago farther at sea.

Later, in treating of the Third Climate, which by his system would be farther to the northward, he describes other islands, which have been sometimes understood as the Azores. But he specially states that one of these islands is near the shore of Morocco; and it seems more likely that his account skips about capriciously from one part of the eastern archipelago to another. It may be said that his hero Dzou l' Carmain is a traditional blending of Hercules and Alexander.

He tells us of the Island Sara situated near to the Sea of Darkness, where Dzou l' Carmain landed before the shadows had covered the face of the sea and remained one night; and the inhabitants attacked him and his companions with blows from stones and

wounded many. Their canine teeth project from their mouths, their eyes scintillate like stars and their cheeks look like burnt wood.

Another island of the same sea is called the island of the feminine devils, the men having no beard and the two sexes differing little in appearance. Their clothes are the leaves of trees. They speak an unintelligible language and make war on marine monsters. This may imply the use of boats. If so, it stands alone as such a nautical allusion. But perhaps the inference is unnecessary. "Monsters" would no doubt include whales, and Fayal of the Azores has continued until now a center of the whaling fishery.

Next, the Island of Delusion is of considerable size, dominated by a mountain, on the side of which live short brown men wearing a beard that descends to their knees and feeding on spontaneous vegetation such as nourish the animals. A river of sweet, fresh water descends from the mountain. The requirements of this island are met by Teneriffe, except the beards and the apparent limitation to a single stream. They may be met still more completely by Pico of the Azores; but we do not know of inhabitants there from any other source.

The Island of El Ghauer, equally large, abounds in all kinds of herbs and plants. Mentions strong places of retreat for the savages and cattle, the latter having horns of great length. Grand Canary and its caverns would suit this very well, if for the cattle we read goats—not otherwise.

The Island of Al Mustackhin, isle of the suppliants, has a citadel dominating the city, for the isle is populous, having mountains, rivers, trees, fruits and cultivated fields. Edrisi relates the victory of Dzou l' Carmain over a dragon which had been devastating this island. There seems no clue to the latter and the citadel is probably as mythical as the dragon.

Another island is named Calhan, the inhabitants of which have human forms and animal heads. Perhaps baboons or gorillas encountered on some island off the African coast may be responsible for the grotesque fantasy. In that case the island would probably belong to a more southern region than the Canaries and would be closer in shore.

Another isle is that of the two brother magicians. They were pirates. To punish them God turned them to rocks on the sea shore. They are situated opposite the port of Asafi and at a distance which permits the smoke from the isle to be seen from the continent when the air is perfectly clear.

This is related in particular by Abmed Ibn Omar, an Arabic naval commander who wished to take his fleet there and land, but death surprised him before he could do so. Information as to the naming of Asafi and other curious items is derived from the report of the Maugrurin, who sailed from Lisbon. Saffi or Asifi is about opposite the Canary Islands. Lanzarote would be nearest. The smoke of the volcano of Teneriffe may be meant.

In this sea is an island of vast extent surrounded by deep shadows. They call it the Isle of Sheep because there are enormous flocks of them. These animals are small and their flesh is so bitter that it cannot be eaten.

Edrisi again refers to the Maugrurin narrative in corroboration.

This Isle of Sheep cuts a great figure in Mediaeval romancing. In the earliest map, 1325, showing the Island of Brazil west of southern Ireland, an alternative name "Montonis" there inscribed means "rams" in Italian; unless it should rather be read Montanis for Mountains. But whether the Isle of Sheep or the Isle of Rams represents any real land is simply a puzzle unsolved. The same may be said for the strange savor of their flesh.

Near this isle is the isle of Raca or Isle of the Birds, a species like eagles which feed on marine animals.

He quotes the *Book of Wonders* for an account of an expedition sent by

a king of France to this island for the birds and for a fruit which is an antidote for poison; but the fleet was wrecked and never returned.

The Azores as an archipelago are said to have their name from the great number of hawks or buzzards found there. In one of the fifteenth century maps the Isle of Falcons appears as one of the newly rediscovered members of that widely dispersed group. Corvo, the crow, has substantially held its name since its first appearance on the maps in the middle of the fourteenth century—probably meaning cormorants. Putting these things together it

seems likely that an Isle of Birds should be looked for especially in this part of the sea. Also the Pizagano map of 1367 represents a Breton fleet undergoing disaster from shipwreck, dragons, and octopi at an island southwest of the circular Island of Brazil, which again is southwest of Ireland, the first mentioned island being also far northwest of Terceira of the Azores. It is at least possible that this may be the expedition from France referred to by Edrisi.

Edrisi's greatest Atlantic island seems to be Saisland—by one conjecture Iceland, but more probably a magnified Madeira. He says it is fifteen days in length, two in breadth. There have been civil wars there, but it is still populous with cities. This last statement has never been true of any island in the Atlantic, as far as we know. The most reasonable conclusion is that Saisland, if real, has been exaggerated and glorified in Edrisi's account quite out of recognition. The earlier description of Diodorus may have misled him.

Laca is another island of this sea. It produces a great quantity of aloes. Merchants repair thither for it and sell it to the kings of Western Morocco.

This carries us into southern waters again, but we really know nothing about Laca.

It seems idle to attempt to identify each one of Edrisi's islands and perhaps his own mind was not very clear concerning them. Arab traders from Morocco, Arab naval expeditions, French records or rumors, explorers of the Maugrurin kind and myth-makers of a much earlier time all had contributed something to his vision of the Atlantic islands, which he would like to pass on to us. But he really seems to have gathered some valuable facts. The Portuguese, when discovering or rediscovering Madeira and the Azores in the fifteenth century, did not report any inhabitants; but Edrisi did, and the natural probabilities of the situation would seem to call for them. A really thorough archaeological and anthropological search of all this group is a great desideratum, and this is especially true of Corvo, nearly halfway across the Atlantic toward America.

Edrisi has been most widely known for his narrative of the Maugrurin, sea wanderers who left the port of Lisbon, necessarily

after the Moors captured it but evidently long before the time of his writing, with the resolve to penetrate to the end of the Sea of Darkness.

They reached the Isle of Sheep, of which so much is made in so many narratives of different nations, and which may be one of the larger Azores islands. Afterward they became entangled in the weedy sea and were glad to turn southward. In the end they were detained by the chief of a populous island, who had an Arabic interpreter and reported a voyage of his father for some forty days beyond his island, without finding an end of the sea. He had them conveyed to the African coast, which was not very distant, and they found their way back to Lisbon, where a street was named after them. If any faith may be put in the tale, they had demonstrated the extension of Arab influence and language in some slight degree to the nearer members of the Canary group; but they seem to have added no other item of anthropologic value.

The Maugrurin legend itself in general outlines may very likely be true, for it was quite certain that some of the maritime Arabs would push out from the Iberian coast in a venturesome manner, drawn by the mystery of the shadowy sea and perhaps also by rumors of Christian fugitives who had sought refuge on remote islands with great wealth of every kind—legends of the Island of the Seven Cities, which endured for many centuries afterward, influencing exploration and geography, and of which no one can positively say that there is no germ of truth in them.

We do not know whence Edrisi derived this Moorish tale. It is one of his sources; but far from the only one. Obviously these were heterogeneous in nature and of quite different value. He believes in advanced civilization in some islands and of beast-headed people in others; but his varying accounts of savagery or pastoral habits, beards or smooth faces, brown skins and small stature, and of fig leaves for garments all have a ring of reality. Perhaps the first meetings of white men with insular Berbers and modifying elements are recorded in these notes of Edrisi.

The Irish *Inrama* or sea-sagas had a very early origin, but grew and changed during their long pre-Columbian life. . They

certainly indicate a knowledge of Atlantic islands and a sense of their loveliness; but the human island population to which they introduce us is conventional and unilluminative. We hear of monasteries and hermits, of enchantresses and marooned navigators, of Enoch and Elijah on one island and the tortured Judas on another; but after much traveling among monsters and adventures we find surprisingly little to indicate observation of the real inhabitants of any real islands remote from Hibernia. The voyage of Snedgus gives us again the beast-headed people of Calhan; huge birds figure in the Voyage of St. Brandon; elsewhere in the latter some small folk are mentioned and these have been conjectured to be Eskimo; but there seems no warrant for the guess and no probability that the voyage was supposed to be in a northern direction. Bran, Maelduin, the Sons of Corra, Snedgus and St. Brandon all ranged the sea, according to romancers, and visited a multitude of islands, but they tell us very little of the real people which seems authentic, except that they kept sheep and must have lived under more or less volcanic conditions in many places.

If there are only very faint indications of pre-Portuguese populations in the Azores and Madeira, we are rewarded with quite a wealth of information as to the Canary islands from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

In the year 1341, certain Italian letters, discovered long afterward among official records, were written in Florence, Italy, by certain Florentine merchants dwelling in Seville, Spain. The translation is by R. H. Major in his introduction to *The Canarien*. They relate that,

On the first of July of that same year two vessels furnished by the King of Portugal, accompanied by a smaller vessel well armed and manned by Florentines, Genoese, Castilians and other Spaniards, set sail for Lisbon and put out into the open sea. They took with them horses, arms, and warlike engines for storming towns and castles, in search of those islands commonly called the "Rediscovered." . . . They did not return until November, when they brought back with them four of the natives, a large quantity of goat skins, the fat and oil of fish, and seal skins; red wood which dyed almost as well as the vergino (Brazil wood) although connoisseurs pronounced it not to be the same; the barks of trees to stain with a red color; red earth and such other like things.

The pilot, a Genoese, estimated the distance nine hundred miles from Seville; but the distance from Cape St. Vincent was much less. Their first island, probably Fuerteventura, was one mass of uncultivated, stony ground, but full of goats and other beasts and inhabited by naked men and women, who were like savages in their appearance and demeanor. He added that he and his companions obtained in this island the greater part of their cargo of skins and fat, but they did not dare to penetrate far into the country.

Passing thence into another island (probably Grand Canary) somewhat larger than the first, a great number of natives of both sexes, all nearly naked, came down to the shore to meet them. Some of them who seemed superior to the rest were covered with goat skins, yellow and red, and as far as could be seen from a distance the skins were fine and soft and tolerably well sewn together with the intestines of animals. To judge from their gestures, they seemed to have a prince, to whom they showed much respect and obedience. Their language was soft and their pronunciation rapid and animated like Italian. On the northern coasts of the island, which were much better cultivated than the southern, there were a great number of little houses, fig trees, and other trees, palm trees which bore no fruit, and gardens with cabbages and other vegetables. Here twenty-five of the sailors landed and found nearly thirty men quite naked, who took to flight when they saw their arms. The buildings were made with much skill of square stones covered with large and handsome pieces of wood. Finding several of them closed, the sailors broke open the doors with stones, which enraged the fugitives, who filled the air with their cries. The houses were found to contain nothing beyond some excellent dried figs, preserved in palm baskets like those made at Cesena, corn of a much finer quality than the Italian, not only in the length and thickness of its grain, but its extreme whiteness, some barley and other grains. The houses were all very handsome and as clean inside as if they had been whitewashed. The sailors also came upon a chapel or temple in which there were no pictures or ornament, but only a stone statue representing a man with a ball in his hand. This idol, otherwise naked, wore an apron of palm leaves. They took it away and carried it to Lisbon. On leaving this island they saw several others. . . . They afterward saw other islands making in all thirteen, some of them inhabited and some not. . . . The languages of these people were said to be so different that those of one island did not understand another, and they had no means of communication except by swimming. . . . The four men whom they carried away were young and beardless and had handsome faces. They wore nothing but a sort of apron made of cord from which they hung a number of palm or reed fibers of a hair's breadth and a half or two hairs' breadths which made an effectual covering. They were uncircumcised. Their long light

hair veiled their bodies down to the waist and they went barefooted. . . . They did not exceed their captors in stature, but they were robust of limb, courageous and very intelligent. When spoken to by signs they replied in the same manner. . . . They sang very sweetly and danced almost as well as Frenchmen. They were gay and merry and much more civilized than many Spaniards. . . . They absolutely refused wine and only drank water. Wheat and barley they ate in plenty as well as cheese and meat which was abundant in the islands and of good quality; for, although there were no oxen, camels, or asses, here were plenty of goats, sheep, and wild hogs. They were shown some gold and silver money, but they were quite ignorant of the use of it, and they knew as little of any kind of spice. Rings of gold and vases of carved work, swords and sabres were shown to them, but they seemed never to have seen such things and did not know how to use them. They showed remarkable faithfulness and honesty, for if one of them received anything good to eat, before tasting it, he divided it into portions which he shared with the rest. Marriage was observed among them and the married women wore aprons like the men, but the maidens went quite naked, without consciousness of shame.

In 1382 an expedition under Captain Lopez was driven by storm to Grand Canary and he and twelve companions dwelt there seven years, taking care of flocks granted them and teaching the islanders Christianity. The latter, however, turned upon and killed them at the last, it is said on account of alleged hostile communications "to the land of the Christians." One of the victims first, however, wrote a warning letter which was given by a convert to the first European expedition which followed. In 1402 Bethencourt began the conquest of the Canaries, which was not completed until long after his death, by other hands and in the latter part of that century.

Gomez Eames de Azurara in 1448 compiled a narrative by one of Prince Henry's sailors of the Conquest of Guinea, reciting how a Portuguese expedition of 1443 took part in a slave raid on the Canarian island of Palma, wherein the Palma fighting men "hurled stones and lances with sharp horn points at them with great strength and precision." One of the women captured "was of extraordinary size for a woman and they said that she was the queen of a part of the island."

Azurara explains that "The Grand Canary" was ruled by two kings and a duke, but the real governors were an assembly of knights filled up by election from the sons of their own class.

Their only weapons were a short club and stones. . . . They had wheat but had not the skill to make bread, but ate the meal with meat and butter. . . . They held it an abomination to kill animals and employed Christian captives as butchers whenever they could get them. They kindled a fire by rubbing one stick against another. They believed in a God who would reward and punish, and some of them called themselves Christians.

The people of Gomera were less civilized. Their women were regarded almost as common property. . . . They made their sister's sons their heirs. They lived chiefly on milk, herbs, and roots. They ate also filthy things like rats and vermin.

The people of Teneriffe were much better off and more civilized. They had plenty of wheat and vegetables, pigs, sheep, and goats, and dressed in skins. They had, however, no houses but passed their lives in huts and caves. Their chief occupation was war and they fought with lances of pine wood made like great darts very sharp with points hardened in the fire. There were eight or nine tribes, each of which had two kings, one dead and one living, for they had the strange custom of keeping the dead king unburied till his successor died and took his place. The body of the former was thrown into a pit. They were strong and active men and had their own wives and lived more like men than some of the other islanders. They believed in a God.

The people of Palma had neither bread nor vegetables, but lived on mutton, milk and herbs. They did not even take the trouble to catch fish like the other islanders. They fought with spears like the men of Teneriffe, but pointed them with sharp horn instead of iron, and at the other end they also put another piece of horn but not so sharp as that at the point. They had some chiefs who were called kings. They had no knowledge of God nor any faith whatever.

Alvisare Cadamosto, a Venetian in the service of Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal, as cited by Major in said introduction, reported in 1455 concerning these islands:

Four of them, Lanzarote, Fuerteventura, Gomera and Ferro were inhabited by Christians, the other three, Grand Canary, Teneriffe, and Palma by pagans. . . . They had barley bread, goats' flesh, and milk in plenty for goats were very numerous; they had no wine nor corn except what was imported, and the islands produced but little fruit. There were great numbers of wild asses especially in the island of Ferro. Great quantities of orchil for dyeing were sent from these islands to Cadiz and Seville and thence to other parts both east and west. Their chief products were goats' leather very good and strong, tallow and excellent cheeses. The inhabitants of the four Christian islands spoke different languages so that they could with difficulty understand each other. There were no fortifications.

fied places in them, only villages, but the inhabitants had retreats in the mountains to which the passes were so difficult that they could not be taken except by a siege. Of the three islands inhabited by pagans (in 1455) two were the largest and most populous of the group: namely, the Grand Canary, in which there were about eight or nine thousand inhabitants, and Teneriffe, the largest of all, which contained from fourteen to fifteen thousand. Palma was not so well peopled, being smaller, but a very beautiful island. The Christians have never been able to subdue these islands, as there were plenty of men of arms to defend them and the mountain heights were difficult of access. Teneriffe was governed by nine chiefs, who did not obtain possession by inheritance but by force. Their weapons were stones and javelins pointed with sharpened horn instead of iron and sometimes the wood itself hardened by fire till it was as hard as iron itself. The inhabitants went naked except some few who wore goat skins. They anointed their bodies with goat's fat mixed with the juice of certain herbs to harden their skins and defend them from cold, although the climate is mild. They also painted their bodies with the juice of herbs green, red, and yellow, producing beautiful devices, and in this manner showed their individual character much as civilized people do by their style of dress. They were wonderfully strong and active, could take enormous leaps and throw with great strength and skill. They dwelt in caverns in the mountains. They had some fruits, chiefly figs, and the climate was so warm that they gathered in their harvest in March or April. They had no fixed religion but some worshipped the sun, some the moon and others the planets with various forms of idolatry. Each man might have as many wives as he liked. These accounts were from the Christians of the four islands, who would occasionally go to Teneriffe by night and carry off men and women, whom they sent to Spain to be sold as slaves. Another of their customs was that when one of their chiefs came into possession of his estate some one among them would offer himself to die in honor of the festival. On the day appointed they assembled in a deep valley, when after certain ceremonies had been performed the self-devoted victim threw himself from a great height into the valley and was dashed to pieces. The chief was held bound in gratitude to do the victim great honor and to reward his family with ample gifts.

Bethencourt's expedition of 1402 was accompanied by the Chaplains Bontier and Leverrier, who prepared a joint narrative known as *The Canarien*. Their main interest is in the quarrels and adventures of the conquerors, but they supply many items about the conquered or resisting people. We are told of the great physical prowess of the King of Lanzarota, who six times freed himself from his captors, of the caverns in which the natives of that island took refuge, of the beauty and modesty of the Lanzarote women, who wear long leather robes reaching down to the ground and

most of whom have three husbands each, of the raids before this time by Spaniards and Corsicans on the people of this island. We hear also of the large stature and powerful build of the men of Fuerteventura, "who are difficult to take alive," of their notable fortifications, one being a strong wall across the island, of their attachment to their own forms of government, and the superlative quality of their cheeses. Also of the "very fine race of Ferro," both men and women, and their great abundance of dogs, sheep and goats; the delightfulness of Palma, its fine people and their exclusive flesh diet; the tallness of the Gomera islanders, their most difficult language spoken mainly with the lips as if they had no tongue; of the Teneriffe Guanche, the hardiest race in all these islands; of the Grand Canary husbandmen who cultivate all kinds of grain and are enthusiastic fishers as well, whose men are handsome and well formed and whose women are beautiful. Those various accounts are mutually corroborative in their main lines, though materially differing more or less in detail even when treating of the same island, the discrepancies being in part accounted for by the lapse of time between observations and the intervening raids, importations and changed conditions. Like Edrisi's much earlier notes, they agree as to great local dissimilarities in matters of comfort and civilization; but we find no evidence that any of these island people had risen as high as the denser American populations—Inca, Aztec or Maya—or much higher than the more promising Indian tribes within the borders of the United States. They had been long separated, island from island, forgetting the art of navigation which had once brought them there, probably in at least two distinct waves, with a wide interval between them; so that the local dialects or languages were hardly mutually intelligible. This loss of navigation of course implies a considerable declension in general culture, but it must be said that we hear of no evidences of great cities and other enduring monuments of civilization such as the ancient writers quite freely depicted.

The local differences may well have been due in part to a lack of homogeneity of race. We know of many raids by white men and of some temporary colonizations lasting for years. Similar tales

are told of the Arabs. Major finds in the facts of divergence evidence of a subsequent Arab wave of population impinging on the Berber aborigines and obtaining control of the islands nearest the African coast, but affecting more slightly those which are remoter and greater. But this does not seem to meet all the requirements of the case and Father Espinosa who wrote while there were still living Guanche on Teneriffe, where he long made his home, contrasts the rather brown and usually nearly naked aspect of the southern shore natives with the white and rosy attractiveness of those on the northern side, whose women were beautiful. One would not think of Arabs in just that way and must be inclined to attach some weight to traditions of Gothic or other Aryan immigrants, without denying the Arabic admixture in other quarters, perhaps on a larger scale. Nevertheless it is likely that the Berber substratum remained the mass of the population.

Perhaps there is nothing about these people more distinguishing or significant than the use habitually made of caverns in some of the chief islands, and the preservation of the dead as mummies especially on the most populous island, Teneriffe. In Lanzarota the caverns were mainly temporary places of refuge in time of sudden danger. In Teneriffe some of them were more regular and permanent abodes, others served as mortuaries for the deposit of dead generations after the manner of the catacombs. The caverns seem to link them, perhaps by coincidence only, with the troglodytes of northern Africa and certain Indian tribes of our cordilleras in the southwest. The habit of preserving corpses as mummies in similar fashion links them on the one hand to the Nile and on the other to the land of the Inca. But again it may be a mere matter of chance or the result of like requirements, conditions, and impulses in spots.

Taking a general survey of the field, we have no evidence of human occupancy in Iceland other than Celtic and Norwegian, though there are faint indications pointing that way; that the case for the Azores and Madeira is much the same, apart from occasional European visitors from the mainland, though certain matters of nomenclature and the probabilities of the situation

suggest an early native population; but that there is ample and detailed information concerning a native population of the Canaries who must have reached their island homes by navigation in remote times, who occupied stations well advanced toward America on the route first followed by Columbus and who present many traits, customs and characteristics which remind one of the North American Indians. But of course these may have grown out of similar conditions of primitive tribal life and may not imply any community of descent.

WASHINGTON, D. C.